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ABSTRACT

This research project examines mobility, satisfaction and power relations in black middle class families. The variables discussed are: (1) mobility patterns over three generations; (2) family structure; (3) the kinship help network; (4) decision-making patterns in the family; and (5) the level of satisfaction with their present family situation. Subjects were chosen from lists of Black churches, social and fraternal organizations, professional groups, voter precinct records, enrollments in preschool and elementary school programs, and door-to-door canvassing. Results are discussed in relation to the above variables. (Author/YRJ)

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MOBILITY, LEVELS OF SATISFACTION, AND POWER RELATIONS IN BLACK MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES

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The factors that are related to the maintenance of stability and upward mobility in Black families have long been ignored, while emphasis has been placed on non-functioning families. When presented objectively or positively, the Black family has been presented as having an extended structure, a disproportionate number of mothers as household heads, and having an extensive family network. When viewed negatively, as is usually the case, one wonders how some Blacks have continued to function. The fact that these families have continued to function despite overwhelming odds, is due to the survival mechanisms that have evolved over generations.

The structure of Black families on one hand has been blamed by some as the cause of Black problems (Moynihan, 1965). On the other hand the structure has been said to be the result of outside racism (Hill, 1976). In reality it is likely that an interaction of familial and non-familial variables have resulted in the present structure.

The sad facts of life are that without adequate financial resources, parents are unable to provide the resources available to meet the developmental needs of their children. Functionality of a home is positively related to the parents developing the skills necessary to manipulate the American economic ladder. A degree of economic mobility has been occurring. Sixty-two percent of Blacks in the United States in 1974 earned less than $10,000, almost twice the non-Black level. The Black male head earned a median income of $10,365, yet the female head only earned $4,465. These levels are still substantially lower than the non-Black, but the young

married couples, with both parents working, have moved to eliminate the racial differential that exists in older groups. Much publicity has been given to the increase in Black income, but Black males now only earn what white males earned in 1963. (U.S. Census, 1975).

In a recent study of 1,651 Black families in 25 metropolitan areas, Heiss (1975) summarized his findings on the Black family in this manner: 1) Most Black families are not female dominated, even in lower status. 2) The majority live in nuclear households; but Blacks are more likely to live in multigeneration households. 3) Living in a multigenerational home does not produce decreased satisfaction or self evaluation. 4) Even in lower-status groups, most Blacks can call on several relatives for help. Those in nuclear homes have fewer relatives to call on. 5) A majority of Black children live in families of six or more, but less than 40% of the urban families have that many members. 6) The age of marriage is late. Sixty percent of lower-status Black women marry after age 18, while 60% of the men marry after age 21. 7) Men who were brought up in female-controlled homes are not feminine in their behavior. Heiss found that female-headed households do not produce all the terrible consequences which have been attributed to them. However, he found this type unit was not a perfectly functioning unit. 8) He further found a relatively weak relationship between objective SES indicators and Black family structure. These conclusions are in agreement with the beginning data base of research on the Black family now being undertaken across the country.

My interest in this area grew out of a lecture given by Albert McQueen

of Oberlin in 1971 when he was at Howard teaching a course with Andrew Billingsley. McQueen's data (1975), based on in-depth interviews of families on Washington, D.C., indicated that in order to make it out of poverty, Blacks, in essence, had to cut themselves off from their families. In contrast, Billingsley's (1967) conceptual view was that families aided each other and were one of the sources of screens of opportunity that facilitated mobility. Later in reading Carol Stack's anthropological study (1975) a similar theme was found. The extensive kin-help system provided substance, but the family reciprocal obligations often resulted in preventing stable marriages and could be considered impeding the mobility of younger family members.

I then began to explore which of the mobility and family interaction patterns were most common among Blacks. Did they have to cut themselves off to be mobile, or would their mobility be impossible without family assistance? I wondered when mobility occurred. Are the economically stable the children of middle-class parents, or had they achieved a higher level in their generation as the result of increased educational and occupational opportunities?

I also wanted to explore what factors are related to stability and mobility and what decision-making patterns are found in families attempting to become mobile. These questions and others led us to design a study that would begin to provide information on the antecedent factors that were related to their mobility.

Several factors had been identified as being possible components associated with family mobility: The extended family form was a factor proposed by

many authors (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1971). The lack of an extensive level of reciprocal obligations have been proposed as an important element by Stack (1975) and McQueen (1971). The small number of children born into mobile families is another point which has been presented as crucial (McKay, 1975). And lastly, the equalitarian decision-making pattern is crucial, as shown by Mack (1970). All of these factors have been included in this study. Variables now being discussed are: 1) mobility patterns over three generations; 2) family structure; 3) the kinship help network; 4) decision-making patterns in the family, and 5) the level of satisfaction with their present family situation.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were randomly chosen from a master list of each site, based on combined membership lists of the Black churches, social and fraternal organizations, professional groups, voter precinct records, enrollments in preschool and elementary school programs, and door-to-door canvassing. Parents were selected from a Mid-Atlantic metropolitan center to fit into the independent variables of demography and family type. One half were in an urban center and half were in a nearby suburban town. The suburban town was selected first and then matching Census tracts were selected in the urban center. In each setting the two family types were two-parent and one-parent.

All of the parents were: 1) Black; 2) presently had a middle income status ($10,000 for one-parent and $14,000 for two parent homes); 3) had school-age children living in the home under the age of 18 years; and 4) had one parent over the age of 25 years. The parental age cut-off was

used because the period before age 25 is the time during which the prerequisites of education, occupation, and income status are developed.

One hundred and one parents were interviewed, 43 fathers and 58 mothers, representing 61 family units. Of the parents, 83% were from two-parent homes and 17% were from one-parent homes. This two-parent rate was higher than the 1975 Census rate of 61% for two-parent and 39% for one-parent (male 4%; female 35%), reflecting the higher stability possible with the higher incomes. Of the 58 mothers, 74% were in two-parent homes and 26% were heads of household, while 95% of the fathers were heads of household. Sixty-seven percent (68) w were from the urban area and 33% (33) were from the suburban area (see Table 1).

The total earned income for urban families and individuals was greater than for suburban ones. The total family combined income from all sources in the city was $35,475 and $28,205 in the suburbs. The mean individual reported income of men in the city was $25,214 and $23,539 in the suburbs (see Table 2). The income of women averaged about $9,000 lower than the men. The urban women earned, on an average, $15,717; and the suburban women had a mean income of $14,575.

Procedures

A review of the literature did not provide satisfactory instruments and we were forced to develop our own. Three pilot tests were conducted as we attempted to develop an instrument that would collect data on our variables, while remaining sensitive to the experiences of the Black families. Only open-ended questions were used on the first test, with their comments being used as a basis for coding on later runs. At the end of each interview we

asked the families to be openly critical of the questions, procedures, and of the overall impression of the experience. The questions were repeatedly modified as the protocols were developed, based on the responses given by the parents.

The majority of the questions were precoded, based upon the responses received on the two pilot tests; however, several were left open-ended, allowing the parents to freely explore their attitudes and childhood experiences. Family data were collected, independently of their spouse, from each parent over three generations. There were five points of contact between the staff and the family, four for one-parent families. The initial introduction with a selected family was over the telephone or at their front door, when we explained the purpose of the project and obtained their cooperation. Both parents signed a detailed permission form. This form explained the specifics of the project and gave them the option to withdraw at any point and have their data destroyed in their presence. We promised them a written report of the study.

The father was interviewed for an hour by a Black male interviewer. Then the mother was interviewed separately for 1½ to 2 hours by a Black female interviewer. The majority of questions were asked of both parents, but one section was asked only of the mothers, specifically relating to her role and some family interaction questions. Parents were then each asked to fill in personal data sheets, at their leisure, that provided background demographic information and three separate scales. This report is based only on those that were asked of both parents.

Results

Family Structure

The first factor we explored was whether the historically common extended

family structure had been maintained in these middle-class families. We found that the majority (78%) were in cimple nuclear units, composed of husband, wife, and their own children (see Table 3). In these units a significant association between sex of parent and family structure was found: 91% of the fathers and 69% of the mothers were in simple nuclear families ($\chi^2 = 5.27$; df 1; $p \leq .03$). While most parents were in two-parent unions, the single parents were, as expected, usually mothers.

Fifteen percent of the families had the attenuated nuclear form, the second most common structure. In an attenuated family, one parent lives alone with children, without any other adults. A marked sex difference was found in this group, with 22% of the mothers, but only 5% of the fathers living in this structure.

The simple extended family, in which both parents, children, and a relative (usually a grandparent) live together, was found in only 4% of the cases. Little sex difference was found (3% of mothers and 5% of fathers). The augmented form of parents, children, other relatives, and non-relatives was found in 2% of the families, all occurring with the mothers.

A significant association was found between demography and family type: there were more urban two-parent families and more suburban one-parent families ($\chi^2 = 5.01$; $p \leq .03$; 1 df).

Social Economic Status

While all of the parents had been identified as middle class by the Census tracts, a systematic reassessment of their SES was made. The Hollingshead scale is most often used in research. It places greater emphasis on the

occupation than on the education of the individual. This form was not felt to be satisfactory for Black adults who often are unable to obtain jobs appropriate to their education (Scanzoni, 1972). Therefore, we coded each parent the standard way, and then did a reverse coding as suggested by Baldwin (1973), giving more weight to education.

The results (see Table 4) indicate that there is a positive relationship between ratings using both scales (Goodman-Kruskal gamma = .879; $p \leq .001$). Parents generally fell in the same SES categories regardless of the procedure used.

The modified Hollingshead-Redlich SES breakdown was as follows: Class I-43%; Class II-40%; Class III-15%; and Class IV-2%. Ninety-eight percent of the sample were in Classes I through III, which are clearly middle class, with 2% in Class IV, semi-professionals with high earnings.

Mobility

The presence of and direction of mobility over three generations were charted using self ratings in four classes: high, middle, working, and lower. With this scale 48 (3x4x4) mobility patterns were possible. The sample families had responses indicating fourteen different mobility patterns. This rating could be considered by some as being as valid as the earlier method, though the parents tended to rate themselves lower than the SES scales.

Eighty-seven percent felt they were middle class, 3% rated themselves upper class, and 9% said working class, even though they seemed to be clearly middle class (see Table 5). The subjects tended to rate themselves higher than the grandparents, the majority of whom were working class. In the great grandparents' generation, the average status was lower, but 4% were still

upper class.

This was an economically upwardly mobile group. Fifty percent of the parents became middle class in this generation. Generational status continuity was found in 17% of the sample, the families who had this status over the three generations. Mobility into a higher level had occurred in each of the successive three generations for 6% of the parents. Mobility was downward on 4% of the sample, whose who rated their grandparents as upper class. Fifty-nine percent of the subjects had experienced mobility of some type from their parents' SES status. Intergenerational mobility of some type occurred in 82% of the cases (see Table 6; Fig. 1).

These families had experienced a great deal of movement. Twenty-nine percent of those had been mobile in the grandparents' generation. The predominance of mobility within this generation would indicate that these families were possibly facing the stresses that come with significant changes.

Level of Satisfaction

Changes in economic status have been found to be one of the factors that cause stress within the family and threaten family stability.

In light of the high rate of mobility that had occurred in their families, the parents' level of social satisfaction was assessed using two measures. One was the standard Happiness Scale that has been repeatedly used in nationwide surveys (Gurin, 1960; NORC, 1964; Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965). Very positive responses were given by the samples. Thirty percent felt they were "very happy", 66% were "pretty happy". Only four parents said they were "not too happy" (see Table 7).

Being in a one- or two-parent family did not significantly impact responses on the state of well-being (χ^2 = 2.09; 1 df). While more of the two-parent families did rate themselves very happy (33:12%), the same percentage were happy or very happy in both family types (93% single; 94% two-parent).

No significant association was found between happiness and place of residence (χ^2 = .418; 1 df; n.s.). Over 90% of the parents in both sites rated themselves as happy or very happy. No sex difference was found in satisfaction (χ^2 = .036; 1 df; n.s.). Satisfaction levels were not associated with the point of mobility (χ^2 = 3.55; 2 df; n.s.).

When asked about their Satisfaction with their Present Family Situation, 84% of the total parents were satisfied. Fifteen percent were ambivalent and only one parent rated himself as dissatisfied (see Table 8). Family satisfaction did not differ between the two sites (χ^2 = .11; 1 df; n.s.) or between the mothers and fathers (χ^2 = .016; 1 df; n.s.). Both samples indicate that they were clearly satisfied with their families. This supports Scanzoni's (1972) summary of the literature that persons with higher SES status, both Black and white, are more apt to report satisfaction with the expressive components of their marriage. The special coping strategies required by all Black families and the mobility pressures did not appear to have resulted in a dissatisfaction with their family situation.

Kin-help Patterns

Mobility usually requires sustained effort by both the individuals and significant others in their lives. This was also true with these subjects. Parents were asked to compare the source of most of their help: family, friends

or community agencies (see Table 10). Both demographic groups selected the family as the source of most help. The urban parents rated the family almost twice as high as the suburban family (49% vs 27%). Both groups selected friends as the second important help source. In the suburb, 18% checked all three sources equally, compared to only 5% of the urban. Surprisingly, the two-parent families received more family help than those in one-parent homes. One-parent families received help almost equally from family and friends, while 19% were helped equally by all three sources. All of the one-parent families received some help, while 14% of two-parent families were not aided. Their concentration in the suburban area may limit family contact. The needs of the one-parent home may be greater and more diffuse and require assistance from many sources.

The city parents received more help from their family than suburban families. Thirty-one percent of urban families but only 15% of suburban parents reported getting a very great deal of help. The suburban two-parent family was the most independent. Fifteen percent of the suburban sample had no help from any source, versus 10% of the urban. Both groups received the same amount of help from friends.

The pattern of help appears to be one that has existed and remained the same over a period of time (56%). When change occurred, the amount decreased.

The significant help received concentrated in the two areas of emotional and financial support. The urban families received more financial help from families (25%) than the suburban families (19%), in spite of higher earnings. The greatest help received by urban families was emotional and financial help equally. The suburban families received more emotional support and less

financial aid (see Table 11). The second most frequent help for suburban families was gifts, mostly of clothing and furniture. Financial aid was third on the list. Only 17% of the urban, and 12% of the suburban received no help from families.

The families were involved in an extensive help network of both kin and non-kin. While the extensive family help existed, there was an extensive help exchange involvement with friends. Forty-seven percent reported that friends had given extensive help. There was a significant association between the place of residence and the amount of help given by friends. Subjects who lived in the suburbs received significantly more help from non-kin - ($\chi^2 = 6.73$; 2 df; $p \leq .04$). The pattern of help received from friends also shows a demographic difference. Emotional help was the most frequent help for both groups (urban, 44%; suburban, 35%). But child care was second highest in the city (19%), while the second highest in the suburbs was furniture and clothing (13%). Neither group received much financial aid from friends. The geographic distance to the suburb would probably be an important factor. The greater similarity of life styles with neighbors may be another.

The amount of help that these families have themselves given to their family would be an indication of their involvement in the kin help exchange network. The parents were clearly involved in this kin-help interchange. The majority gave a great deal of significant help, with financial support most frequently given. Emotional support was given in the city secondly, while clothing and furniture, and emotional support was given in the suburbs. Child care appears to be of secondary importance in the gift exchange. More help was given to other family members than was received from them, in all categories. Twenty-two percent of the families received nothing, but only

12% gave nothing to their families (see Table 12).

They felt positive about the help that was given to them by the family (see Table 12). Sixty-three percent urban and 73% suburban would appreciate and accept help. In the city 25% would expect to receive help from their family, while only 12% of the suburbanites expected it. Only 3% in the city, but 15% in the suburbs, would accept but not expect help from their families. Eight percent would be hesitant to ask and 6% would ask only as a last resort.

Decision making

Eleven standard decision-making questions were asked of each parent, to obtain a measure of their perceptions of which family members normally make the decisions within the family (purchase car, home job, etc.). No clear dominance pattern by either sex was found. As a group, the parents tended to report an equalitarian decision making situation (45%). No significant difference to the questions was found between the forty husband and wife pairs in responses given (t = 1.59; 39 df). Fifty-three percent of the fathers' responses, but only 38% of the mothers', indicated that both parents shared equally in the decision making (see Table 14). More of the mothers (41%) than of the fathers (21%) showed that the wife usually made the decisions. Very few (13% mothers, 19% fathers) responses said that the father made all of the decisions.

A difference in decision making was found between those who were newly arrived middle class and those moving into this level for three generations. The recently mobile families had significantly lower decision-making scores (t = 2.22; 68 df; $p \leq .05$). A significant difference (t = 2.04; 90 df; $p \leq .05$).

was also found between the newly arrived group and all other combined upwardly mobile parents (M = 22.44; SD 3.96). This would indicate a greater exercise of authority by the first generation husbands in the important decisions of the family. However, all groups fell within the range of equalitarian gender roles discussed by Scanzoni (1976).

The oft-cited stereotype of Black female dominance was not supported by these responses. This finding supported the work of Mack (1970) and Hill (1976) on the equalitarian relationship found in most Black families. Mack found that class differences outweighed sex and race differences. The decisions and responsibilities were shared without regard to traditional sex-type roles. Several researchers have found that wives who worked had more marital power than non-working wives (Blood & Wolfe, 1963; Kandel & Lesser, 1972), especially in relating to economic decisions. The majority of these women worked, therefore they followed a cultural pattern and had economic involvement that would lead to their active participation in family decisions.

It would also tend to support the often expressed belief in the limited impact of the feminist movement on the Black family, for the Black family has often been seen, for various reasons, as not functioning in a sex-typed manner. The subjects were asked their opinion on the impact of the women's liberation movement on Black life. The unanimous response was that there had been none and that none was needed. A few references were made to increased economic equity as a result of the movement. Many comments were given based on the cultural differences between Black and non-Black women, who were seen by their parents as functioning in a traditionally dependent role. As Yorburg (1973) states, the Black family has distinct variations that are in the direc-

tion of modern patterns toward which whites are now moving: the decline in role segregation in the marital relationship and an increase in help in childrearing and chores in the home.

In summary, these middle income families had achieved great upward mobility, were satisfied with their life and family situation and had an equalitarian husband-wife relationship. Newly mobile fathers tended to make more decisions than those in this status for a longer period of time. They were intensely involved in a reciprocal kin-help relationship, in which they continued to provide intensive help to their families while achieving mobility. The one-parent families received more help from all sources. The suburban families were more independent of family and were more involved in a non-kin help exchange.

The conceptual extension of McQueen and Stack's work that would suggest that reciprocal obligations may become so strong that mobility is impaired, was not supported with this sample. The adults were able to become upwardly mobile, while continuing to provide and receive substantial support with the family members, who were often in less secure surroundings.

In discussing possible implications of the non-kin network with Billingsley (1976), he suggested that these newly arrived middle-class families may be attempting to recreate the supportive environment that these adults knew as children in often poorer, rural and sometimes Southern backgrounds. These families did appear to be continuing some forms of reciprocal help

systems with non-kin that extend and reinforce the nuclear family structure, to offset their perceived lack of wider community support of their family's functioning.

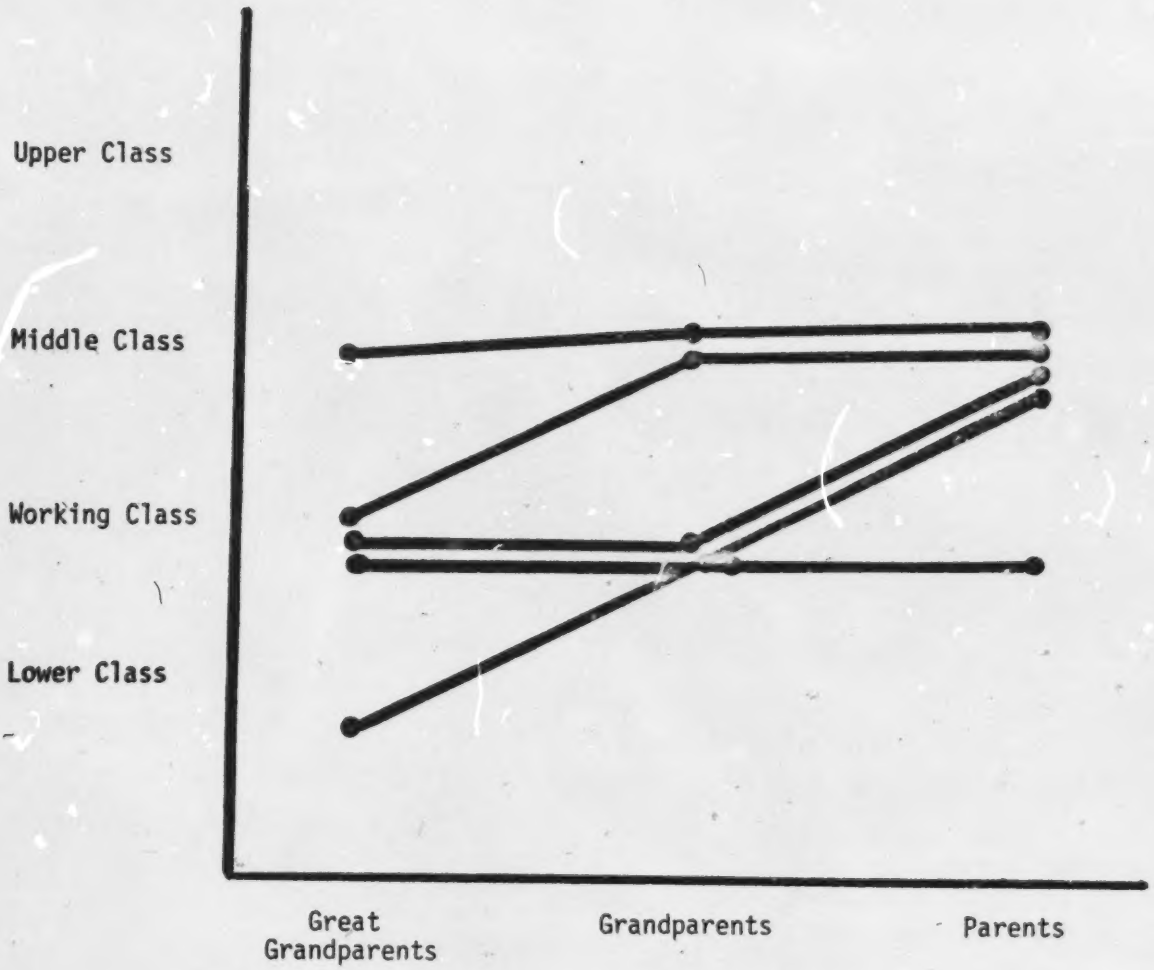

Fig. 1. Self Pating of Mobility Patterns over Three Generations.

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Parents by
Demography, Sex of Parent, and Family Type

Group	Family Type: One parent f	%	Two parent f	%	Σ f	%	Total f	%
All Mothers	15	(26)	43	(74)	58	(57)	101	
Fathers	2	(5)	41	(95)	43	(43)		
All Urban	7	(10)	61	(90)	68	(67)	101	
Suburban	10	(30)	23	(70)	33	(33)		
Urban Mothers	6	(35)	30	(36)	36	(36)	68	(67)
Fathers	1	(6)	31	(37)	32	(32)		
Suburban Mothers	9	(53)	13	(15)	22	(22)	33	(33)
Fathers	1	(6)	10	(12)	11	(11)		
Total	17	(17)	84	(83)	101	(100)		

Table 2

Reported Individual Income Levels and
Actual Family Incomes by Sex and Demography

	Individual Income				Family Income	
	Urban		Suburban			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Urban	Suburban
N	35	36	13	20	40	22
Range	3,999-35,000	3,000-32,500	9,500-35,000	3,000-22,500	11,000-60,000	9,500-60,000
Mean	25,214	15,717	23,539	14,575	35,475	28,205
SD	8,925	10,233	9,604	6,180	11,670	15,724
Group Difference	-9,497		-8,964		-7,270	

Table 3

Frequency Distribution of Family Structure
by Parent Sex, Demography, and Family Type

Family Structure	Group											
	Mother		Father		Urban		Suburban		One Parent		Two Parent		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Simple Nuclear	40	(69)	39	(91)	57	(84)	22	(67)	0	-	79	(94)	79	(78)
Attenuated Nuclear	13	(22)	2	(5)	7	(10)	8	(24)	15	(88)	0	-	15	(15)
Simple Extended	2	(3)	2	(5)	4	(6)	0	-	0	-	4	(5)	4	(4)
Augmented	2	(3)	0	-	0	-	2	(6)	1	(6)	1	(1)	2	(2)
Neo-local Nuclear	1	(2)	0	-	0	-	1	(3)	1	(6)	0	-	1	(1)
Total	58	(99)	43	(101)	68	(100)	33	(100)	17	(100)	84	(100)	101	(100)

Table 4

Distribution of Social Economic Status Using
Hollingshead-Redlich Scale, Original and Modified Scorings

Group	Classes				Total
	Upper I	Upper-Middle II	Middle III	Working IV	
Original Scoring (Occupation emphasized)					
Urban	27 (44)	26 (43)	5 (8)	3 (5)	61
Suburban	14 (45)	8 (26)	8 (26)	1 (3)	31
One parent	5 (31)	7 (44)	4 (25)	0 -	16
Two parent	36 (47)	27 (36)	9 (12)	4 (5)	76
Total	41 (45)	34 (37)	13 (14)	4 (4)	92(100)
Modified Scoring (Education emphasized)					
Urban	25 (42)	27 (45)	6 (10)	2 (3)	60
Suburban	14 (45)	9 (29)	8 (26)	0 -	31
One parent	7 (44)	5 (31)	4 (25)	0 -	16
Two parent	32 (43)	31 (41)	10 (13)	2 (3)	75
Total	39 (43)	36 (40)	14 (15)	2 (2)	91(100)

Table 5

Frequency of Social Class Distribution Using
Self Rating over Three Family Generations

Class	Parents f	Parents %	Grandparents f	Grandparents %	Great Grandparents f	Great Grandparents %
Upper	3	(3)	3	(3)	4	(4)
Middle	88	(87)	32	(32)	14	(14)
Working	9	(9)	62	(61)	65	(64)
Lower	0	-	2	(2)	11	(11)
Missing data	1	(1)	2	(2)	7	(7)
Total	101	(100)	101	(100)	101	(100)

Table 6

Frequency and Direction of Self Rating
Mobility over Three Generations

Mobility Direction	Subgroup f	Subgroup %	Total %	
Upward				
Present Generation	50	(64)	(50)	
Parents' Generation	22	(28)	(22)	
In Each Generation	6	(8)	(6)	
Sub-total	78	(100)	(78)	82%
Downward				
Present Generation	3	(75)	(3)	
Parents' Generation	1	(25)	(1)	
In Each Generation	0	-	-	
Sub-total	4	(100)	(4)	
Status continuing over Three Generations	17	(100)	(17)	
Missing data	2	(100)	(2)	
Total	101		(100)	

Table 7

Frequency Distribution of Levels of Social Satisfaction
by Family Type and Demography

Group	Level of Satisfaction with Life							
	Very Happy		Pretty Happy		Not too Happy		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
One parent	2	(12)	14	(82)	1	(6)	17	(17)
Two parent	27	(33)	51	(63)	3	(4)	81	(83)
Urban	21	(32)	41	(62)	4	(6)	66	(67)
Suburban	8	(25)	24	(75)	0	-	32	(33)
Mother	14	(25)	39	(70)	3	(5)	56	(57)
Father	15	(36)	26	(62)	1	(2)	42	(43)
Total	29	(30)	65	(66)	4	(4)	98	(100)

Table 8

Frequency Distribution of Levels of Social Satisfaction
by Family Type and Demography

	Level of Satisfaction with Family Situation								
	Satisfied		So-so		Dissatisfied		Total		χ^2
Group	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
One parent	11	(65)	6	(35)	0	-	17	(17)	
Two parent	72	(88)	9	(11)	1	(1)	82	(83)	
Urban	54	(82)	11	(17)	1	(2)	66	(67)	
Suburban	29	(88)	4	(12)	0	-	33	(33)	
Mother	49	(86)	8	(14)	0	-	57	(58)	
Father	34	(81)	7	(17)	1	(2)	42	(42)	
Total	83	(84)	15	(15)	1	(1)	99	(100)	

Table 9

Frequency Distribution of Amount of Help Received from Family and Friends

	Urban		Suburban		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Help Received from Family						
Very great deal	21	(31)	5	(15)	26	(26)
Great deal	21	(31)	13	(39)	34	(34)
Some	12	(18)	4	(12)	16	(16)
Very little	9	(13)	6	(18)	15	(15)
None	5	(7)	5	(15)	10	(10)
Total	68	(100)	33	(99)	101	(101)
Help Received from Friends						
Very great deal	29	(43)	17	(52)	46	(46)
Great deal	21	(31)	8	(24)	29	(29)
Some	14	(21)	5	(15)	19	(19)
Very little	2	(3)	3	(9)	5	(5)
None	2	(3)	0	-	2	(2)
Total	68	(101)	33	(100)	101	(101)

Table 10

Frequency Distribution of Responses to
"Most Help Received From ..."

Groups	Most Help Received From: Family N	%	Friends N	%	Fam/Fri Equally N	%	Community Agencies N	%	All 3 Equally N	%	No One N	%	Total N	%
Urban	33	(49)	16	(24)	6	(9)	2	(3)	3	(5)	7	(10)	67	(67)
Suburban	9	(27)	7	(21)	5	(15)	1	(3)	6	(18)	5	(15)	33	(33)
One parent	6	(38)	5	(31)	2	(13)	0	-	3	(19)	0	-	16	( )
Two parent	36	(43)	18	(21)	9	(11)	3	(4)	6	(7)	12	(14)	84	( )
U 1-parent	2	(33)	3	(50)	1	(17)	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	(6)
U 2-parent	31	(51)	13	(21)	5	(8)	2	(3)	3	(5)	7	(12)	61	(61)
S 1-parent	4	(4)	2	(20)	1	(10)	0	-	3	(30)	0	-	10	(10
S 2-parent	5	(2)	5	(22)	4	(17)	1	(4)	3	(13)	5	(22)	23	(23)
Total	42		23		11		3		9		12		100	(100)

Table 11

Frequency Distribution of Help Given to
Family and Friends and Help Received from Family and Friends

	Help Received					
	Family			Friends		
	Urban	Suburb	Total	Urban	Suburb	Total
Financial support	27 (25)	11 (19)	38 (23)	8 (8)	5 (8)	13 (8)
Emotional support and counseling	27 (25)	16 (27)	43 (26)	42 (44)	22 (35)	64 (40)
Child care and care taking	18 (17)	9 (15)	27 (16)	18 (19)	11 (18)	29 (18)
Clothing, furniture, and general gifts	8 (8)	13 (22)	21 (13)	4 (4)	8 (13)	12 (8)
General help	5 (5)	1 (2)	6 (4)	7 (7)	4 (6)	11 (7)
Labor assistance	4 (4)	2 (3)	6 (4)	4 (4)	6 (10)	10 (6)
None	18 (17)	7 (12)	25 (15)	13 (14)	7 (11)	20 (13)
Total	107 (101)	59 (100)	166 (101)	96 (100)	63 (101)	159 (100)

	Help Given					
	Family			Friends		
	Urban	Suburb	Total	Urban	Suburb	Total
Financial support	35 (28)	20 (27)	55 (28)	23 (19)	13 (19)	36 (19)
Emotional support and counseling	31 (25)	18 (24)	49 (25)	42 (34)	19 (28)	61 (32)
Child care and care taking	21 (17)	8 (11)	29 (15)	17 (14)	11 (16)	28 (15)
Clothing, furniture, and general gifts	15 (12)	19 (26)	34 (17)	12 (10)	13 (19)	25 (13)
General help	9 (7)	1 (1)	10 (5)	11 (9)	2 (3)	13 (7)
Labor assistance	9 (7)	3 (4)	12 (6)	9 (7)	6 (9)	15 (8)
None	6 (5)	5 (7)	11 (6)	9 (7)	5 (7)	14 (7)
Total	126 (101)	74 (100)	200 (102)	123 (100)	69 (101)	192 (101)

Table 12

Frequency Distribution of Amount of Different Types of Significant Help Received and Given from Family and Friends

Amount of Different Kinds	Received from: Family						Friends					
	Urban		Suburban		Total		Urban		Suburban		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Three or more	13	(19)	11	(33)	24	(24)	7	(10)	9	(27)	16	(16)
One or two	39	(57)	16	(49)	55	(55)	36	(53)	10	(30)	46	(46)
Nothing	16	(24)	6	(18)	22	(22)	25	(37)	14	(42)	39	(39)
Total	68	(100)	33	(100)	101	(101)	68	(100)	33	(99)	101	(101)

Amount of Different Kinds	Given to: Family						Friends					
	Urban		Suburban		Total		Urban		Suburban		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Three or more	24	(35)	13	(39)	37	(37)	27	(40)	12	(36)	39	(39)
One or two	39	(57)	13	(39)	52	(51)	31	(46)	16	(49)	47	(47)
Nothing	5	(7)	7	(21)	12	(12)	9	(13)	5	(15)	14	(14)
Total	68	(99)	33	(99)	101	(100)	67	(99)	33	(100)	100	(100)

Table 13

Attitude Toward Help Given by Family

Category	Total Sample f	%	Urban f	%	Suburban f	%
Would appreciate help/ expected from family	21	(21)	17	(25)	4	(12)
Would be appreciative/ help would be accepted	39	(39)	24	(35)	15	(46)
Would appreciate help/ not expected from family	7	(7)	2	(3)	5	(15)
Would be hesitant to ask for help	8	(8)	6	(9)	2	(6)
Expect help only in emergencies/family as a last resource	6	(6)	4	(6)	2	(6)
Do not depend on family	7	(7)	6	(9)	1	(3)
Not applicable	11	(11)	7	(10)	4	(12)
No response	2	(2)	2	(3)	0	(0)
Total	101	(101)	68	(100)	33	(100)

Table 14

Frequency Distribution of Decision Making Responses [1/]

Category	Mothers f	Mothers %	Fathers f	Fathers %	Total f	Total %
Husband usually	77	(13)	83	(19)	160	(15)
Wife usually	247	(41)	93	(21)	340	(32)
Both equally	233	(38)	236	(53)	469	(45)
Other relatives	6	(1)	1	(0)	7	(1)
Children	4	(1)	4	(1)	8	(1)
Equally among other family members	42	(7)	26	(6)	68	(6)
Total	609	(101)	443	(100)	1052	(100)

1/ Questions asked of subjects:

1. ... what car to buy?
2. ... whether to buy life and health insurance?
3. ... what house or apartment to take?
4. ... whether or not the wife should go to work?
5. ... what to do when someone is ill?
6. ... if birth control should be used?
7. ... how much money the family has to spend per week for food?
8. ... what TV program the family will watch?
9. ... what jobs the children should do around the house?
10. ... how late the child may stay out at night?
11. ... what jobs the parents should take?

Table 15

Ms Standard Development and t-tests of Decision-making Scores by Mobility Pattern

Mobility Pattern	N	M	SD	df	t
Present Generation	47	20.68	4.31		
Parents' Generation	22	21.68	3.08		
Status Continuity	17	22.59	4.51		
In Each	6	24.83	4.88		
Present Generation	47	20.68	4.31	73	1.72
Parent & In Each	28	22.36	3.67		
Present Generation	47	20.68	4.31	90	2.05*
Parent, In Each &)	45	22.44	3.96		
Status Continuity)					
Present Generation	47	20.68	4.31	62	1.54
Status Continuity	17	22.59	4.51		
Present Generation	47	20.68	4.31	68	2.22*
Status Continuity;)	23	23.17	4.61		
In Each)					

* $p \leq .05$

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